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ABSTRACT

To test the propositions that collective bargaining has had little effect on teacher salaries but a considerable effect on school administration and governance, data were gathered on four aspects of educational labor relations in Canada and its provinces for the period 1930-1978. The four aspects were (1) the ratio of teacher salaries to per-capita income; (2) teachers' working conditions, as indicated by pupil-teacher ratios; (3) management rights clauses in collective agreements; and (4) the development of informal and formal collective bargaining. The salary-to-income ratio showed little relative gain over the period, indicating that teacher salaries are a function of the larger economy, not of militancy. Pupil-teacher ratios declined steadily from 1930, but especially after 1960, when most provinces had some form of formal or informal collective bargaining. Comparison of contract clauses reveals a shift from almost total management control to joint teacher-management control through bargaining, especially since 1960. This indicates a significant impact on school administration. Too little data were gathered to trace the development of collective bargaining, but bargaining legislation, strike rights, and arbitration exist in most provinces. (Author/RW)

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THE IMPACT OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

/ ON

FINANCIAL GAINS

AND

MANAGEMENT RIGHTS

IN

CANADIAN EDUCATION

CASEA

CSSE Annual Conference

June 1981

Dr. W.G. Nediger

EA 014 396

THE IMPACT OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING ON FINANCIAL GAINS AND MANAGEMENT RIGHTS IN CANADIAN EDUCATION

The popular press suggests that all teachers seek is increased wages and benefits. Discussion with trustees, parents, and taxpayers in general does little to refute this perception. Murphy and Hoover, writing on this matter in Teachers College Institute of Administrative Research 14, No. 2 (February 1974) and in Cresswell and Murphy (1976), suggest that there is a growing body of information that can be used to challenge the above assumption. They examined the ratio of average teacher salary to average per capita income in the U.S. from 1929 to 1969 and concluded the following:

> It is often said that all militant teachers seek is increased wages and benefits; that is teacher unionism is fundamentally a welfare movement. Like their industrial counterpart, the argument goes, teacher unions concentrate on improving wages and benefits ignoring larger professional, organizational, or instructional issues. Although this favourite explanation of the motives behind teacher militancy continues dominant, there is a growing body of information which challenges this conventional thinking. From analyses of the behaviors and successes of teacher unions over the last several decades, two facts emerge: (1) teachers militancy has not had much effect on their economic returns; (2) collective bargaining procedures and resultant contracts have already had considerable impact on administrative and governance practices.
>
> (Murphy and Hoover, 1976, p. 476)

The above quote led the author to consider testing the two emergent facts in the Canadian context. In order to do so four objectives were set out, namely:

1. To examine the ratio between average teacher salary and average per capita income in Canada over the period 1930 to 1978;
2. To examine the change in working conditions as indicated by the pupil teacher ratio over the same period;
3. To examine the change in management rights clauses in collective agreements over the same period;

4. To examine the development of both informal and formal collective bargaining over the same period.

Objective 1

Upon examining Statistics Canada publications it soon became evident that it would be impossible to work with the average teachers' salaries and thus the median salary was substituted. The effective measure became the ratio of the median teacher salary divided by the average per capita income. It was assumed that the definition and derivation of these data were consistent from year to year and region to region. The data were gathered for Canada as a whole and for each province with the exception of Quebec for which they were not available.

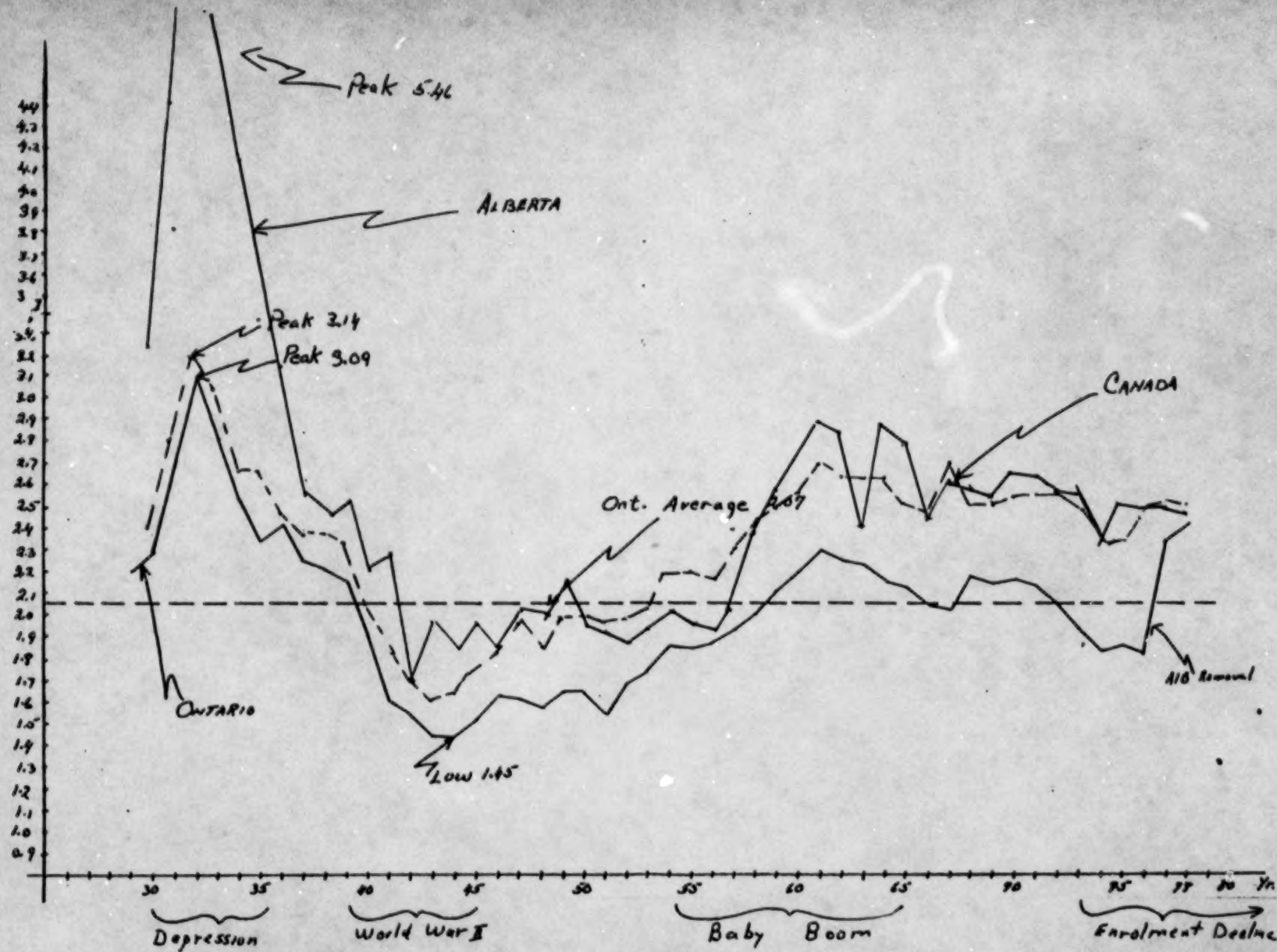
The ratios so derived are displayed in Table I and those for Canada, Ontario and Alberta are further portrayed graphically in Figure I.

On examination of Table I and Figure I it may be concluded that increased militancy and formalization of collective bargaining have had little impact on teacher earnings vis-a-vis the rest of the population. While it is true that between the years of 1930 and 1978 teachers' median salary steadily rose from approximately 1,200 in Canada to close to 20,000, this increase must be viewed in the context of changes in average annual income generally. Such a comparison reveals that the ratio of the median teachers' salary to the average per capita income for each year between 1930 and 1978 has remained remarkably constant except for brief periods during the depression when teacher salaries declined more slowly than the general income, and during World War II when teacher salaries lagged behind the upward surge in general income levels. It can be concluded that salaries paid to teachers during this period have kept pace with

TABLE 1

Ratio of Median Teacher Salary to Average Per Capita Income

YEAR	CANADA	NFLD	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	ONT.	MAN.	SASK	ALTA	B.C.
1930	2.39	--	2.44	2.34	2.35	2.39	2.59	3.66	3.21	2.79
1931	2.80	--	3.30	2.80	2.95	2.71	3.15	4.10	4.44	3.05
1932	3.14	--	4.11	3.47	3.72	3.09	2.81	4.41	5.06	3.61
1933	2.92	--	4.14	3.53	3.44	2.81	3.12	4.78	5.46	3.42
1934	2.60	--	3.78	3.22	2.53	2.53	2.58	4.71	4.08	3.08
1935	2.59	--	2.79	2.46	2.88	2.52	2.36	2.80	3.38	3.03
1936	2.40	--	2.63	2.28	2.48	2.42	2.30	2.62	3.03	2.76
1937	2.31	--	2.23	2.04	2.34	2.25	1.84	3.47	2.59	2.70
1938	2.31	--	2.39	2.10	2.31	2.21	2.09	2.52	2.45	2.70
1939	2.24	--	2.16	2.07	2.18	2.16	2.03	2.05	2.54	2.68
1940	2.07	--	1.81	1.85	2.06	1.92	1.87	2.29	2.21	2.46
1941	1.77	--	1.96	1.59	1.84	1.62	1.63	2.37	2.26	2.13
1942	1.64	--	1.69	1.42	1.64	1.56	1.50	1.27	1.55	1.89
1943	1.58	--	1.62	1.32	1.63	1.46	1.55	1.59	1.96	1.74
1944	1.60	--	1.60	1.61	1.74	1.45	1.58	1.44	1.75	1.82
1945	1.70	--	1.56	1.56	1.70	1.52	1.68	1.71	1.98	1.88
1946	1.80	--	1.74	1.80	1.62	1.63	1.57	1.46	1.78	2.21
1947	1.94	--	2.11	2.08	1.90	1.61	1.60	1.52	2.04	2.20
1948	1.84	--	1.99	2.15	1.86	1.58	1.70	1.41	2.01	2.18
1949	1.97	1.48	1.96	2.11	1.94	1.66	1.64	1.51	2.17	2.26
1950	1.97	1.41	1.98	2.06	2.04	1.67	1.69	1.37	1.87	2.18
1951	1.92	1.31	1.83	2.01	2.03	1.56	1.76	1.34	1.76	2.18
1952	1.95	1.70	1.75	1.94	2.09	1.69	1.69	1.38	1.80	2.27
1953	2.02	1.43	2.19	1.94	2.23	1.75	1.84	1.53	1.90	2.27
1954	2.20	1.67	2.19	1.90	2.22	1.88	2.08	1.78	2.02	2.30
1955	2.20	1.61	2.29	1.94	2.18	1.86	2.08	1.71	1.95	2.27
1956	2.16	1.46	1.96	2.32	2.23	1.88	1.99	1.67	1.92	2.17
1957	2.29	1.53	2.25	2.34	2.30	1.93	2.15	1.92	2.03	2.27
1958	2.41	2.80	2.31	2.41	2.40	2.01	2.10	2.91	2.50	2.60
1959	2.52	2.79	2.30	2.43	2.39	2.11	2.46	2.95	2.65	2.71
1960	2.57	2.63	2.44	2.37	2.43	2.20	2.36	2.75	2.77	2.84
1961	2.67	2.66	2.73	2.41	2.53	2.30	2.55	3.53	2.91	2.87
1962	2.56	2.70	2.51	2.34	2.58	2.26	2.35	2.62	2.82	2.77
1963	2.57	2.72	2.59	2.52	2.64	2.23	2.40	2.50	2.50	2.73
1964	2.56	2.70	2.49	2.46	2.60	2.17	2.30	2.97	2.89	2.64
1965	2.49	2.67	2.39	2.38	2.54	2.13	2.25	2.81	2.77	2.55
1966	2.42	2.56	2.64	2.50	2.50	2.05	2.31	2.67	2.57	2.51
1967	2.63	2.62	2.67	2.81	2.61	2.03	2.47	3.17	2.69	2.53
1968	2.41	2.73	2.43	2.76	2.52	2.19	2.44	2.82	2.61	2.55
1969	2.42	2.84	2.59	2.64	2.83	2.16	2.49	3.02	2.57	2.47
1970	2.46	2.67	2.75	2.81	2.66	2.18	2.52	3.17	2.72	2.56
1971	2.48	2.95	2.81	2.78	2.73	2.15	2.50	2.86	2.70	2.45
1972	2.49	3.12	3.08	2.66	2.66	2.07	2.47	2.79	2.70	2.50
1973	2.37	2.98	2.84	2.65	2.68	1.95	2.34	2.31	2.55	2.32
1974	2.28	2.72	2.84	2.45	2.43	1.84	2.28	2.12	2.35	2.21
1975	2.30	3.19	3.07	2.64	2.68	1.88	2.34	2.01	2.51	2.30
1976	2.46	3.39	3.41	2.86	3.06	1.83	2.32	2.24	2.43	2.32
1977	2.50	3.43	3.47	2.95	3.12	2.36	2.56	2.40	2.49	2.27
1978	2.49	3.49	3.33	2.86	3.13	2.44	2.63	2.45	2.39	2.30



RATIO of MEDIAN TEACHER SALARY to AVERAGE PER CAPITA INCOME

FIGURE I

other salaries but have shown no relative gain. Thus it is fair to say that economic returns to teachers may well be a function of the larger economic system and not particularly subject to internal pressures generated by militant teachers.

It is interesting to note, although it is irrelevant as far as the argument is concerned, that the less wealthy provinces as indicated by per capita income tend to pay teachers a higher salary relative to that income than do the wealthier provinces. This phenomenon is also evident on an international scale where developing countries tend to pay teachers more relative to the per capita income than do the wealthier countries.

Objective 2

Once again upon searching the Statistics Canada data for an indication of a ratio to indicate some measure of the pupil/teacher relationship, none was found. Thus it became necessary to derive one. The only consistent figures available were those for total average attendance in public elementary and secondary schools and total number of teachers employed at the same levels including principals. Using these data a PTR was calculated for each province and for Canada as a whole for the period 1930 to 1975 at five year intervals. The data are summarized in Table II and again the data for Canada, Ontario and Alberta are graphed in Figure II.

Many factors can be taken to give a measure of working conditions. Probably the most contentious over the years has been the pupil/teacher ratio. This measure, as portrayed in Figure II clearly indicates significant gains for teachers. The Canadian figures range from 29.88 to 20.34 with an average of 25.91. The Ontario figures range from 33.80 to 21.08 with an average of 27.95 and those for Alberta range from 28.87 to 20.75 with an average of 25.66. The most interesting features of these figures include

TABLE II

Ratio of Average Daily Attendance to Total Number of Teachers Employed in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools

YEAR	CANADA	NFLD	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	QUE.	ONT.	MAN.	SASK	ALTA	B.C.
1930	29.88	35.88	27.87	33.15	32.79	25.87	33.80	34.70	27.39	28.87	28.46
1935	29.04	34.36	27.70	31.95	34.13	24.89	31.53	35.08	29.96	28.63	29.50
1940	28.22	34.30	27.83	34.91	33.38	23.24	29.48	31.67	27.39	28.19	28.58
1945	26.95	33.12	27.10	32.57	32.82	21.06	29.82	27.11	24.69	28.56	29.44
1950	26.01	31.73	26.29	30.32	27.05	24.04	29.32	25.83	23.21	25.63	27.65
1955	26.02	33.03	25.91	28.07	27.42	24.41	29.20	26.35	23.71	26.68	28.28
1960	26.11	29.86	25.28	26.92	25.96	24.02	28.18	25.42	24.16	25.03	27.07
1965	24.95	26.42	22.99	25.31	24.25	24.97	25.35	24.07	22.70	23.34	26.70
1970	21.57	24.99	19.05	21.49	22.27	20.37	21.75	21.41	22.53	20.93	24.43
1975	20.34	21.24	19.32	18.79	20.97	19.22	21.08	19.88	20.55	20.75	20.90

TABLE III

Pupil/Teacher Ratio
Average and Range -- Canada and Provinces
1930-1975

Jurisdiction	Average	Range
Canada	25.91	20.34 - 29.88
Newfoundland	30.49	21.24 - 35.88
Prince Edward Island	24.93	19.32 - 27.87
Nova Scotia	28.35	18.79 - 34.91
New Brunswick	28.10	20.97 - 34.13
Quebec	23.21	19.22 - 25.87
Ontario	27.95	21.08 - 33.80
Manitoba	27.15	19.88 - 35.08
Saskatchewan	24.63	20.55 - 29.96
Alberta	25.66	20.75 - 28.87
British Columbia	27.10	20.90 - 29.50

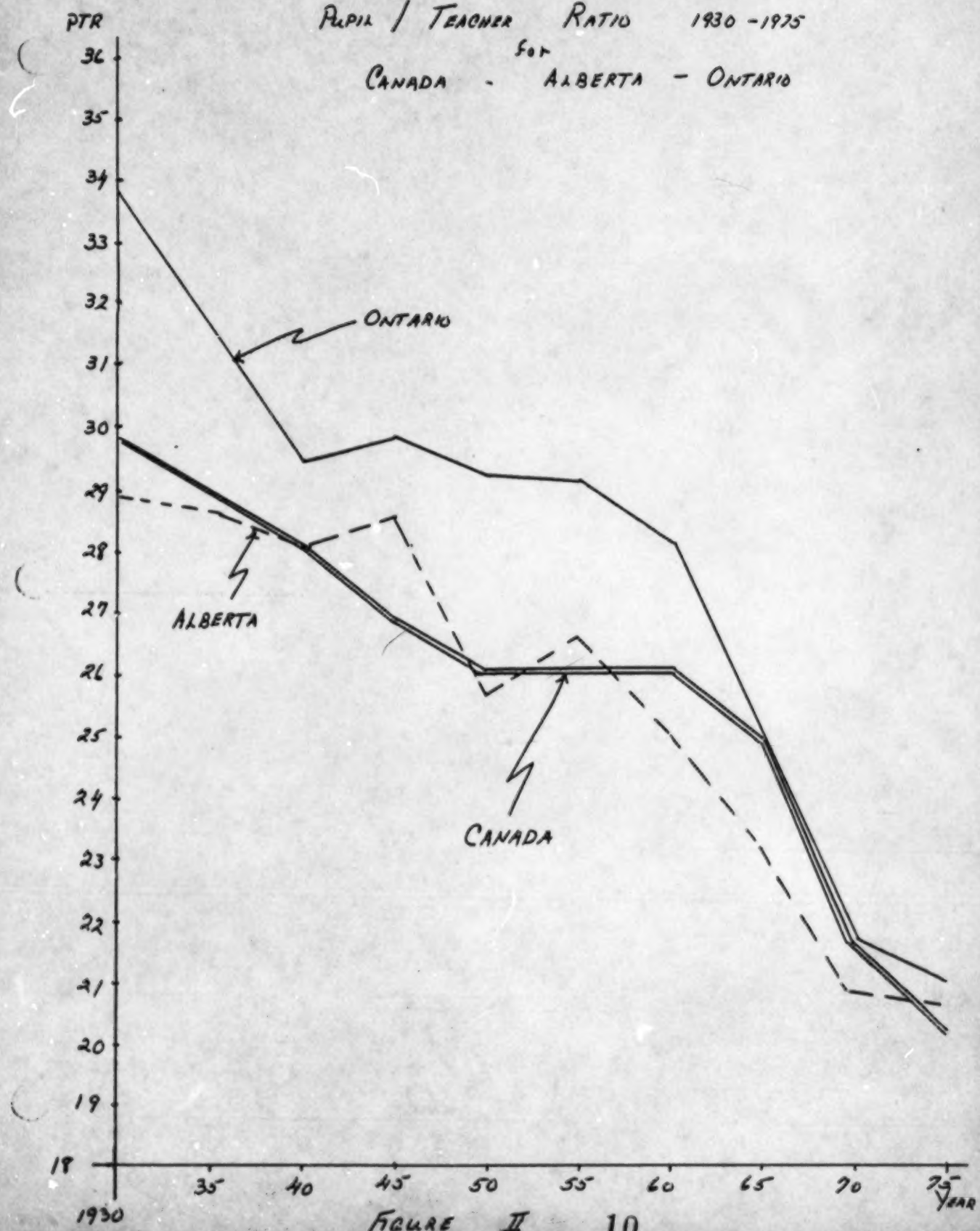

PUPIL / TEACHER RATIO 1930 - 1975
for
CANADA - ALBERTA - ONTARIO
PTR
36
35
34
33
32
31
30
29
28
27
26
25
24
23
22
21
20
19
18
ONTARIO
ALBERTA
CANADA
1930
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
YEAR

FIGURE II

the wide spread in 1930 from 25.87 for Quebec to 35.88 for Newfoundland, the narrow gap in 1975 with a low of 18.79 for Nova Scotia to a high of only 21.24 for Newfoundland, and the clear indication of definite sharp decline from 1960 to 1975 when almost all provinces either had collective bargaining legislation or at least a highly structured informal system of collective bargaining. And this even through the '60's, that period of severe teacher shortage.

It is safe to say that contrary to some allegations and certain U.S. findings the pupil teacher ratio has steadily improved and there appears to be no indication that teachers have recently traded off higher salaries for higher PTRs.

Objective 3

The expression, management rights, may mean many things to various readers. In this context it is taken to mean the locus of control. Although it is impossible to quantify such a feature of our system it is possible to examine contracts and collective agreements and gain a sense of the locus of control in the system. This was done. Even though it is difficult to find early records of such documents it may suffice to reproduce some clauses found in a contract signed in Ontario in 1923 by a female teacher. In return for a salary of $600 per year she agreed to the following terms:

1. To be at home between 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. unless attending a school function;
2. Not to leave town at any time without permission of the chairman of the board;
3. Not to smoke cigarettes;
4. Not to drink beer, wine or whiskey;

5. Not to ride in a carriage or car with any man except her father or brother;
6. Not to wear bright colours;
7. Dresses to be no more than two inches above the ankle;
8. To sweep classroom daily; to scrub floor weekly; to clean blackboards daily; to start fire at 7:00 a.m. so room will be warm when children arrive; to carry out ashes daily.

(Globe and Mail 1978)

It takes little discussion to agree that at that time the locus of control was undoubtedly with the Board of Education and even more narrowly with the Chairman of the Board. It is also obvious that the sphere of control was well beyond that of the school.

A perusal of more recent collective agreements, specifically for 1976-77 turns up such topics as Teacher Work-Load, Non-Teaching Duties, Unassigned and Preparation Periods, Class Size, Pupil/Teacher Ratio, and Conditions of Work.

The following quotations taken from Downie (1978) will serve to indicate the current focus of control:

> A full time teacher will teach no more than seven out of the nine periods in the proposed 1976-77 timetable. No teacher will teach more than 288 minutes per day.
>
> Espanola Board of Education
> (Downie 1978, p. 167)

> No teacher shall be required to perform as part of his regular duties any duties normally and regularly performed by members of the secretarial or custodial staff. This shall not preclude the participation of a Teacher in incidental duties associated with the instructional program or in those duties as prescribed in Regulation 191 and The Education Act 1974.
>
> Board of Education for the Borough of Etobicoke 1975-77
> (Downie 1978, p. 167)

The important point in these comparisons is not so much in the specifics of the content but in the tone indicating the rights of management to control the working conditions of the teacher. The shift is from close to absolute control, not just of the teaching day but of the entire life style by the employer to the present situation where the collective agreement becomes the locus of control with many clauses indicating what the Board of Education can and cannot do. This is, of course, almost a complete turn around over the 45 years in question.

One might say that this would have been the case with or without collective bargaining because it is the way of the times. However, at least in Ontario, prior to 1960, seldom if ever were such topics negotiated by teachers. It was not until negotiation became quasi-formalized and then finally formalized in 1975 that the gains were clearly recorded. An examination of agreements in provinces such as Alberta where collective bargaining legislation appeared long before it did in Ontario verifies that such conditions were negotiated, recorded and observed upon the introduction of the formal practice.

In its ultimate form such a shift may well lead to a complete paralysis within the system. The author had the occasion to study a collective agreement in an attempt to solve what appeared to be an impasse between a teacher and principal with respect to a teaching reassignment. The collective agreement was such that regardless what decision the principal made it was contrary to some clause in the agreement. Thus the locus of control was completely imbedded in the agreement.

Objective 4

To examine the development of both formal and informal collective

bargaining over the 45 year period is a major task, well beyond the scope of this paper. However the following table indicates the situation as it is now across the various jurisdictions in Canada vis-a-vis collective bargaining legislation.

TABLE IV (Whitworth, 1976)

Legislation Dates for Collective Bargaining in Canadian Provinces

Newfoundland	1967
Prince Edward Island	1972
Nova Scotia	1974
New Brunswick	1967
Quebec	1960
Ontario	1975
Manitoba	
Saskatchewan	1949
Alberta	1968 (1935)
British Columbia	1967

TABLE V (Whitworth, 1976)

Summary of Conditions

1. Statutary or tacit right to strike
   Nfld, N.S., N.B., P.Q., Ont., Sask., Alta
2. Access to binding, or other, arbitration
   N.B., P.E.I., Ont., Man., Sask., B.C.
3. Province wide negotiation
   Nfld, N.B., P.Q., Sask.
4. Regional or area negotiation
   Ont., Alta, B.C.

It is interesting to compare Table IV and Table I to see if any pattern or relationship can be found between the introduction of such legislation and the median/average salary ratio. None can be found.

It has not been possible to make an exhaustive study of Table IV and collective agreements prior to and immediately following the legislation. However the author believes that there would be a trend similar to what was noted in the foregoing section on management rights across the country.

Conclusion

It may be concluded from this study when coupled with those of Lindman (1970), Murphy and Hoover (1974), Krughoff (1969), Karper (1970) and Hall and Carroll (1973), "that economic returns to teachers are a function of the larger economic system and not particularly subject to internal pressures generated by militant teachers." (Murphy and Hoover, 1974, p. 478)

The outcome of collective bargaining has been a complex body of rules and regulations governing the behaviour, rights and privileges of teachers and administrators. It may be suggested that teacher militancy is a necessary stage in professionalization (Corwin, 1966). We are passing through a critical period where continuing increased militancy will drive us to a much greater degree of bureaucratization; where rules will become more important as ends than as means; and where the organization will become less adaptive and less responsive to students. On the other hand an appropriate shift in strategies in the decision-making process in schools and in the governance of education will result in a greater democratization of our system and a model of professionalism unique to education.

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